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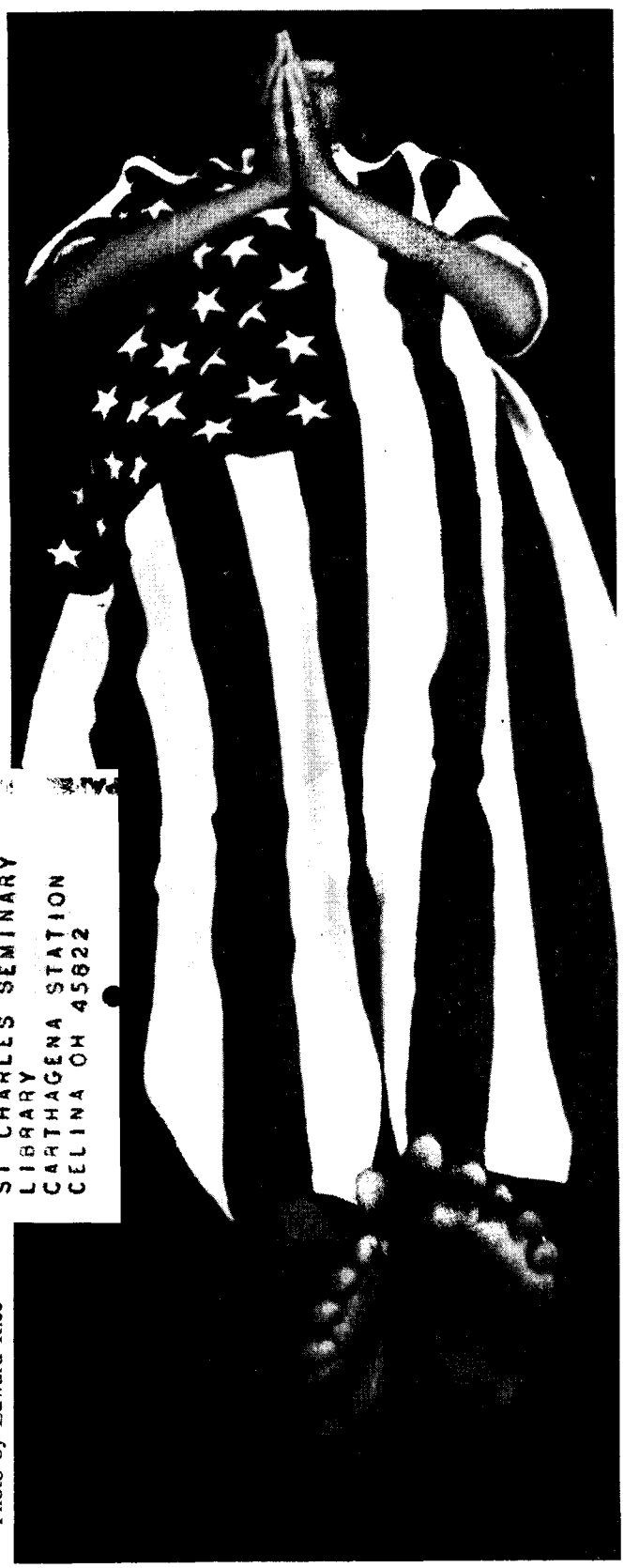

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Wake for a Bitter Decade

COLD NIGHT IN FLINT
PHIL TRACY

CHICANO IS BEAUTIFUL
CELIA S. HELLER

THE FREE MINISTRY
EUGENE C. BIANCHI

WEST GERMANY LOOKS EASTWARD
MATTHEW M. MESTROVIC

BOOKS: VIEWS ON VIOLENCE
ANNE FREMANTLE
THOMAS M. CONRAD
JOSEPH A. PAGE

SAD STATISTICS
PETER STEINFELS

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NEWS & VIEWS

Apologies, Apologies

CBS, NBC, ABC protest because they had to share one camera crew during Spiro's visit to Saigon, while the USIA luxuriated in not one, not two, not three, but four TV crews.

It was a mix-up, said White House communications director Herb Klein; apologies.

Apologies, too—on Dec. 30—from the Pentagon for shrinking to 119,000 the estimate of those who took part in the Nov. 15 anti-war Mobilization at Washington Monument. The number was larger, after all—by at least double. (Police has said 250,000; city officials, 320,000.)

Melvin Laird had grandly announced the 119,000 figure—on careful analysis of an aerial photo shot at "2:30 p.m." at the peak of the Mobilization.

Then some wise guy had to go and measure the Monument's shadow and calculate mathematically that the picture could not have been taken at 2:30 p.m., and possibly was snapped as late as 4 p.m., well after the Mobilization crowd had begun to drift away.

Sure enough, wasn't it the case.

But "it was not a deliberate misleading," a Pentagon spokesman fumbled. There followed some exquisite explanations.

Well, maybe it wasn't a "deliberate misleading"; and maybe the camera crew "mix-up" in Saigon wasn't calculated either. But they certainly were as convenient two errors as could be hoped for . . . And so what if you have to apologize later, when bureaucratic goofs serve large policy purposes now.

CFM and the Pill

The largest distributor of birth control pills in Peru turns out, ironically, to be the Christian Family Movement.

Some 3,200 women are receiving the pill in 14 parish centers around Lima, according to Agostino Bono of Latinamerica Press.

The paradox is double, given (a) *Humanae Vitae* and (b) the fact that Peru, a predominantly Catholic country, has not taken a stand favoring birth control.

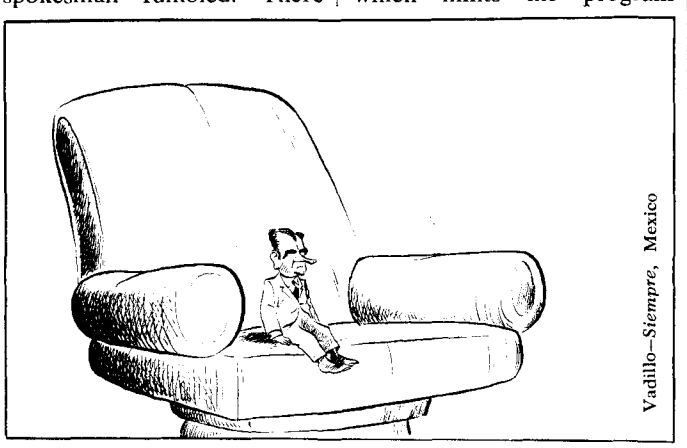
The CFM program is said to have the approval of Peru's primate, Cardinal Landazuri. The Catholic "loophole," says Bono, is the permissibility in natural law to regulate the female cycle.

Financing of CFM pills is 80 percent by U.S. AID (through the Center for the Study of Population and Development) and 20 percent by Pathfinder Fund, a private U.S. birth control funding agency.

By policy, the pills are dispensed only to married women, a detail, notes Bono, which limits the program markedly, "as many common law and casual unions exist." Also, recipients are cut off after 2 years, at which point, it seems, the legalisms alter.

Nevertheless, the CFM project is, in Bono's opinion, a significant breakthrough.

On the political side, Bono writes, birth control remains an extremely sensitive issue throughout Latin America. The social, political, economic and cultural need is indisputable, but "governments cannot overtly favor widespread programs without running the risk of being labeled imperialist lackeys."



Vadillo—*Siempre*, Mexico

Recruiting the Vet

Veterans' organizations are pursuing the Viet GI with missionary zeal, Peter C. Stuart reports in the *Christian Science Monitor.*

The recruitment race begins in Vietnam, Stuart writes, and escalates quickly into an ideological tug-of-loyalties.

"It's because of all the dissent," an American Legion official is quoted as saying. "We feel an obligation. We want to show them that they're appreciated."

Well, the effort is paying off. Both the Legion and the VFW report they are enrolling GI's at rates far exceeding the Korean war period.

The American Legion, for example, snared only 52,000 of the 5.6 million Korean vets; it has enrolled between 200,000 and 250,000 of the 2.2 million veterans of Vietnam. The VFW claims another 100,000.

The old-line organizations are clearly winning the recruitment battle, Stuart declares, but he adds that insurgent groups, like Veterans for Peace in Vietnam and Vietnam Veterans Against the War, have made "significant inroads."

"Loosely organized and without membership rolls, in most cases, group size is measured by mailing lists. These embrace many thousands of sympathetic veterans and GI's."

The insurgents aren't conceding defeat in the contest for the allegiance of the Viet veteran.

"We used to think it took a GI about a year after he left Vietnam to turn against the war," said Jan Crum, a founder of Vietnam Veterans Against the War. "But now they come to us as soon as they get back."

Like the Man Said . . .

"WASHINGTON — Major United States weapons systems are costing at least $20-billion more than original estimates, and no man in the Government knows the total number of systems being acquired or their costs, Congress was told today . . ."

Associated Press, Dec. 30

"Lord, we have based the development and prosperity of many of our giant industries on the diabolical capacity to produce arms of every size and shape, all designed to slaughter and exterminate men who are our brothers. Thus we have cruelly established the economic stability of so many powerful nations upon the trading of arms to poor nations lacking plows, schools and hospitals . . ."

Pope Paul's Prayer for Peace, Jan. 1

Odds and Ends

—Ah, the technocrats . . . things are never immoral, unethical, unjust, etc. Useless, maybe. Or awkward. Like the blacklisting of scientists in the Department of Health, Education and Welfare [*Commonweal* 11/21/69]. HEW Secretary Finch has announced that blacklisting will be discontinued. He termed the procedures "archaic."

—Cyclamates are bad for Americans, but defoliants remain good for Vietnamese. The latest measurement of land area treated with 2,4,5-T, 2,4-D and other life-killing, disease-producing compounds: 7,000 square miles.

JOHN DEEDY

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CORRESPONDENCE

Stiff Upper Slip

New York, N.Y.

To the Editors: If there are "scruffy graduate students who don't know Baghehot from Bentham" ("Stiff Upper Lip Over a Massacre," Dec. 19), that might be because scruffy Mr. Steinfels seems not to know Baghehot from Bagehot. Twice in one paragraph! What in the Dichens was I thinking of?

PETER STEINFELS

God and the Hippies

Winnipeg, Manitoba

To the Editors: A comment or three on W. Houston Clark's letter in the 28 November *Commonweal.*

1. Comparing hippies, Woodstock-type or other, with Francis' early followers in terms of their common mendicant practices is one of the most glaring examples of the genetic fallacy I have seen. And correcting freshman logic papers provides me with a large sample for comparison. To suggest that the church is rejecting them "simply" on the basis of dress is an intriguing instance of mini-think.

2. Who were the 100 respondents to this questionnaire? On what basis is the conclusion drawn that they are, in fact, representative of the "hippy" movement? Those highly motivated are generally the ones most inclined to respond. The apathetic (read "ordinary respectable church-goer") would throw the conclusion out of joint, I suggest.

3. What is meant, precisely (for that is what a questionnaire attempts to determine), by "*at least some* of the *elements* of a *religious experience much more profound* than that *characteristic* of the *ordinary, respectable* church-goer"? (What a potpourri of vague generalizations and value judgments!)

4. What kind of a God is alive for them? the god of, in Clark's own refer-

(Continued on page 463)

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THE WORK OF PEACE

Foreign aid programs never had an easy time in Congress; now their name is mud. Plans to help the poor and underdeveloped nations used to win a certain constituency among liberal and religious groups, but Vietnam changed all that. These days men like Senators Fulbright, Church and many more are dubious in the extreme about foreign aid proposals, as indicated on the measure before Congress, and one must sympathize with their reasoning: foreign aid too often has been used as the first step of a U.S. involvement far beyond anything the national interest would require or even permit. This was certainly the case with Vietnam, where our initial steps looked innocent enough on the surface, and it is true elsewhere as well.

Thus a well-intentioned antipathy to abuse of U.S. aid has conspired to drive liberals into the camp of long-time reactionary enemies of the entire idea of foreign aid and to discredit all American efforts to assist the underdeveloped areas. At this writing, for example, it seems likely that this year's foreign aid will fail to reach the $2 billion mark—that it will, in other words, fall short of the amount called for in New York City's proposed budget for one year's welfare program. This, it seems to us, is a tragedy that should not be allowed to happen.

The need for aid abroad has not decreased; on the contrary, many poor nations are losing their race with an exploding population. What is needed is not a cut-off of foreign aid but a recognition of where it went wrong and a determination to set things right in the future. Two major steps are necessary: a renewed determination not to turn our backs on the hungry in other lands, and, secondly, an equal determination to avoid the dangers of unintentional U.S. involvement in places like Vietnam by channeling all our aid through the United Nations and other international agencies, reformed where necessary to remove U.S. domination.

In an editorial at Christmas we pointed out that this nation since the end of World War II has spent $1,250,000,000,000 on military defense. At Christmas the Pope also assailed the armament race, praying that the world might be forgiven for the fact that powerful nations base their stability on "trading arms to poor nations lacking plows, schools and hospitals." Noting that human hands still bloodstained by two World Wars were unable to join, Pope Paul pointed out that men were now armed to a degree that would

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permit them to "set the world ablaze and perhaps even destroy mankind." "Lord, it is true!" the Pope said in his recent World Peace Day prayer. "We are not on the right path!"

Indeed we are not, and let us hope that many voices will take up and make their own the pleas of the Pope. Let us in particular hope that American Catholics, bishops, priests and people, recognize the urgency of this matter. Over the year American Catholics have fought for many an issue, from that of decent movies to federal aid to parochial schools. Why not now make the subjects of peace and disarmament and aid to poor countries as important to the American Catholic community as they are to the Pope? No one claims that disarmament or foreign aid are easy subjects, easily managed, but on the other hand neither is beyond human capacity. If we were willing to devote to foreign aid—genuine aid, not military assistance—even half of what we now spend on bombs and missiles, we could, literally, change the face of the earth. Let us begin.

THE MAFIA AND THE LAW

The Mafia is everybody's bad guy, and with good reason public authority wishes to see it out of business, especially in New Jersey at the moment, where indications are that the Mafia has clapped grips on sizable segments of government. Despite the Mafia's evil, however, there is still a constitutional code to be respected, and no one is more strictly bound in this regard than authority itself.

All this is apropos the release of FBI transcripts of recorded conversations of the New Jersey Mafia. Governor Hughes condemns the disclosures as hearsay libel, "character assassination by braggarts and name-droppers." It is a point well taken, whatever Mr. Hughes' personal and political self-interests. But it is not the whole of the injustice by any means. There are also the facts that the conversations were illegally taped by the FBI, that they're part of an unsworn record, and that they would have no standing whatsoever in any American court of law. They couldn't conceivably be admitted as evidence without the case being thrown out on appeal.

Officials responsible for the transcripts and their release relax, of course, in the comfortable assurance that no one is going to bring action against them in connection with the tapes. The New York Court of Appeals recently upheld the right of Ralph Nader to sue General Motors for "unauthorized wiretapping and eavesdropping by mechanical and electronic means." But is the Mafia going to sue the FBI, or a Federal judge, or a U.S. attorney for invasion of privacy? Certainly not. And in New Jersey, why should it? The release of the transcripts was perhaps the best thing that could have happened to the Mafia next to Angelo (Gyp) De Carlo's miraculously finding himself in the governor's seat or head of county prosecutors.

And that's the large irony of what has happened in Jersey. Federal authorities scored a neat coup under announced Justice Department strategy of exposing criminal elements to public ire through the media. On the other hand, they appear to have destroyed broad legal grounds for bringing prosecutions against the Mafia. It is almost as if the Mafia were, as the saying goes, calling the shots.

Actually, there seems little doubt but that the strategy has been directed from Washington, through the U.S. Attorney for New Jersey, Frederick B. Lacey, a recent Nixon appointee. This is the final disturbing facet of the case. The ACLU argues that rather than moving for release of the Mafia documents, Lacey should have sought their impounding. But could this have been expected given the validations for wiretaps and eavesdropping offered by John Mitchell and his deputy, Richard Kleindienst? Hardly. Lacey's tactics smack of new national policy . . . which makes one worry all over again for an institution which, in the interest of law and order, would subvert the law itself.

West Germany Turns To the East

The Soviet occupation of Czechoslovakia, like the 1956 suppression of the Hungarian revolution, has been followed by a marked *détente* in East-West relations, presumably because the Kremlin leadership felt reassured that the U.S. could at least be trusted not to challenge Soviet supremacy in Eastern Europe. In Helsinki, talks between the U.S. and the Soviets on strategic nuclear arms reductions are now under way; Moscow has renewed its call for a European security conference "for general and complete disarmament"; and the NATO ministers, at their December meeting in Brussels, proposed a mutual reduction of NATO and Warsaw pact forces in Europe.

There is, however, a novel element in the current thaw: the West German initiative to mend its own unsatisfactory relations with the Soviet-bloc, which have now, rather suddenly, received encouragement from the Kremlin. The Soviet press has given grudging praise to West Germany's adherence to the nuclear non-proliferation treaty, and Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko personally opened negotiations in Moscow with Ambassador Hellmut Allardt on the mutual renunciation of the use of force. Simultaneously Bonn is discussing with Warsaw a $500-million loan to Poland, and may soon start talks with the Czechs.

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The true feelings of the Nixon Administration towards Chancellor Willy Brandt's approaches to the East are hard to assess, for Washington has been speaking with several voices. Mr. Nixon has sent the Chancellor a cordial letter of encouragement; Secretary of State William Rogers pointedly attributed sinister motives to the Kremlin, while an official of the U.S. Embassy in Bonn unofficially told reporters that Washington was miffed at not being consulted by Mr. Brandt on his new Eastern initiatives.

The international press has suggested a variety of reasons for the Kremlin's new willingness to negotiate with Bonn. The Soviets are seeking the recognition of Ulbricht's satrapy as a second, sovereign German state; they wish to reduce European tensions so as to have a freer hand in dealing with Mao's China; the Russians, no less than the Poles, Czechs and Rumanians, need West German capital. The reader has his choice. Any number can play.

Dismantling NATO

But these suggestions ignore the greatest strategic advantage that Moscow might derive from a genuine understanding with Bonn: the withdrawal of U.S. troops from Western Europe and the dismantling of NATO, whose principal European anchor is West Germany. These Soviet aims have received some encouragement from both Washington and Ottawa. The Canadians have reduced their NATO contingent in Europe and Senate majority leader Mansfield has spoken of a unilateral withdrawal of at least some of the 315,000 U.S. troops in Western Europe.

In the immediate, postwar period, a devastated and occupied West Germany, under the leadership of that staunch West European unionist, Konrad Adenauer, saw the advantage of having U.S. forces stationed on its own soil. West Germany was primarily concerned with rebuilding its economy and regaining the respect of the international community. It was willing to follow U.S. foreign policy which sought to firmly integrate West Germany with the West through NATO and the Common Market. But these policies also had the result of confirming the general European status quo and indefinite German division.

It should not seem surprising that 25 years after World War II the West Germans are reappraising their Western commitments in terms of their own long-range national interests. The Germans are, after all, the largest European nation, next to the Russians. The prevailing U.S. policy of maintaining a European status quo objectively offers no hopes of bringing about German reunification within the foreseeable future.

Obviously, German reunification can only be achieved under present circumstances through an agreement with the East. Only the Soviets can give the Germans reunification, for they hold Eastern Germany with their military might. But the Soviets will clearly maintain German partition unless they can obtain something in return that is of equal or greater advantage to themselves. Only the nudging of the U.S. out of Western Europe and the dismantling of NATO could "compensate" the Soviets for allowing the reunification of the two Germanies. The question is whether reunification is of greater interest to the Germans than the continued existence of NATO and the presence of U.S. forces in Western Europe.

The bitterness of Soviet-German relations in the recent past tends to obscure the fact that historically the Prussians and the Russians have been allies, down to retirement from office of Bismarck in 1890. And even more recently, in the 1920s, the Social Democratic government of the Weimar Republic signed the Rapallo agreement with the Soviet Bolsheviks. This is not to suggest that another Rapallo is in the offing. But it is a reminder that there are no eternal friendships or enmities in relations between states. U.S. relations with Japan, China and Germany, testify to this.

Fundamentally Mr. Brandt's new East European policy mirrors the growing reality of West Germany's power in Western Europe. Defeat, reconstruction, and tutelage in foreign affairs are now in the past. It is consequently inevitable that Bonn will increasingly seek to pursue what it regards to be a "German" foreign policy in Eastern Europe. Chancellor Brandt's current diplomatic initiatives aim to break down the rigid division of Germany, and consequently of Europe. He has undoubtedly approached the Soviets because a growing number of West German leaders have reached the conclusion that at the moment such a policy seems to offer the best hopes for the eventual reunification of their nation. The current West German diplomatic moves at the same time serve to reduce over-all European tensions, and in that sense constitute a positive step forward.

MATTHEW M. MESTROVIC

(Matthew M. Mestrovic, a frequent contributor, is a member of the faculty at Fairleigh Dickinson University.)

THE CHURCH IN THE YEAR 2000

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Some Facts for the State of the Union

What has been the biggest news story of recent weeks? Mississippi or the Mafia? Spiro's globetrotting? Israel's boatnapping? I suspect that a future historian, trying to judge the moral sense of this moment in our national life, might turn to an item which slipped out somewhere between the big headlines and the sports pages: I refer to the various Lou Harris Poll findings on the reactions of Americans to the My Lai massacre.

There was a time when I learned from knowledgable professors that public affairs were a matter of "how the pie is cut." Yet since I began to write in this space, I find myself dealing with an entirely different kind of subject: I wrote a column on the Green Beret case but scrapped it since that neat killing disappeared swiftly into the great American Memory Hole; I studied the details of the shooting of Black Panther Fred Hampton in Chicago, but as the issue of public irresponsibility (if not public responsibility, of a most grizzly sort) became apparent, I could think of nothing to write, except for the tale from the early, bloody days of the Weimar Republic when a police informer whispered to the head of the Bavarian police, "I think that political assassinations are taking place." And the reply came back: "Yes, but not enough of them." Then there were two columns on My Lai.

So it turns out that public affairs are increasingly a matter of murder, and can we be blamed if we seem a little unprepared for this fact? Each of the assassinations has been followed by much moralizing, not a little of it completely illogical, as conservatives were swift to point out. How can one leap—as numerous liberal writers did so nimbly—from a single assassin to conclusions about the United States as a whole?

Logic has its limits, however; and the Lou Harris findings makes one feel that the harsh things written about America in the wake of the assassinations were not exaggerations. According to one poll, dating from early December, only 15 percent of the public feels that soldiers "who killed civilians in My Lai" should be punished "if they prove they did the killing under orders." Sixty-six percent believe that having acted under orders is reason for letting the soldiers off. When it came to answering about their own behavior, 45 percent avowed they would not "shoot old men, women, and children" if ordered to do so; but 37 percent found that, in this case, it would be "more right to follow orders." A statistic to keep you glancing over your shoulder at your neighbors!

On another question, Americans split evenly in agreeing and disagreeing with the Nuremberg principle that "a person was a war criminal who murdered innocent civilians, even if ordered to do so by his superiors." Yet even this hesitant response—which ought to make juicy reading in Germany—only referred to an abstract principle; the previous replies showed how such a principle was modified mightily when applied to the concrete case of U.S. troops.

More disturbing figures from the Harris pollsters turn up in the January 12 issue of *Time*, 65 percent of the public finding that "incidents such as this are bound to happen in a war," and, according to *Time*, only 22 percent clearly expressing "moral repugnance to the idea that American soldiers may have intentionally gunned down unarmed women and children."

There are favorable, or at least less damning, constructions which can be put on these statistics. Certainly, they reflect a suspicion that the ordinary soldier is being made a scapegoat, and that the brass who gave the orders, or the politicians who run the war, are evading their own responsibility. But the reverse side of this understandable reaction is its "good German" aspect—blame the men at the top, and abjure personal responsibility. If some national leaders ought to be in the dock along with Lieut. Calley and his companions—and I believe that some should—that does not mean Lieut. Calley ought to be out of the dock. The cry that these men are scapegoats contains a great element of simply wishing the whole business could be stashed out of sight; likewise witness the anger directed at the media for exposing the massacre, an anger the public has never previously manifested over unfavorable pre-trial publicity.

Killing civilians under orders is opposed, in higher percentages, by those under 30, who presumably will outlive the rest. That would be a bright spot, were it not for the realization that many of those on whom this war is having its greatest brutalizing effect are also under 30. The South China Sea Eight—the Green Berets accused of a cold-blooded murder—were, after all, a shade younger on the average than the Chicago Eight who currently symbolize the New Left. When President Nixon pronounces on the State of the Union, I doubt if he will comment on the fact that Americans except themselves from the standards of behavior by which we once judged Nazi war criminals; but future historians may find this a harsh fact by which to evaluate the worth of our civilization.

PETER STEINFELS

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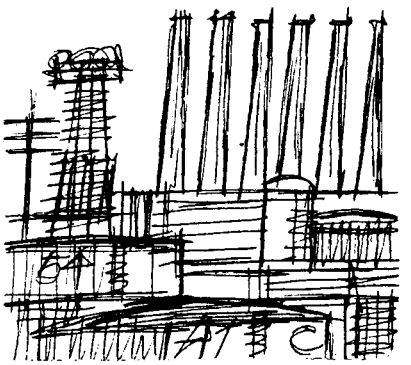
COLD NIGHT IN FLINT

My final peace demonstration of the decade

PHIL TRACY



If traffic isn't heavy, the trip from Detroit's Metropolitan Airport to Flint, Michigan, takes about an hour. The highway runs west, ribbons around Ann Arbor and then heads directly north to Flint. The surrounding countryside is a smorgasbord of mid-America: a succession of factories, trailer camps, dairy farms, vacant acres of scrub brush and the assembly plants of Ford and General Motors. The latter dominate both the landscape and mood of Flint. The Chevrolet plant located in the southwest section of town is three miles long and reportedly the second largest walk-in assembly plant in the country. The greyness and the lack of hills, the factories and the used-car lots shroud whatever vitality and hope the land and the people once possessed. The streets and the buildings are covered with a fine filament of slush. Flint is Middle America and on Christmas Eve at the end of a decade it may well be a tombstone for our way of life, a symbol of the desolation and defeat that is engulfing us.

The Christmas lights which form a canopy over the Saginaw Street shopping district are garish ugly vestiges of a season whose meaning and spirit have been lost. Whatever significance the day still holds is now located among the endless aisles of Montgomery Ward's hangar-like department store. Flint is an odd place to choose to celebrate Christmas, but then Christmas seemed like an odd thing to celebrate this year.

The last ten years have not been good to Flint. The population has hovered somewhere around 200,000; the exact figure is disputed by the Chamber of Commerce and the Metropolitan Planning Commission. The median income has gone down a few hundred dollars while the rest of the nation's has risen over 50 percent. The white population is down and the non-white has jumped from nine to 20 percent. The air pollution is less than in most cities owing more to strong prevailing winds than the efforts of any conscientious industrialists. The town's one lake is too polluted for swimming and the unemployment rate is higher than for the nation as a whole. Flint has had most of these problems for a couple of decades; the last ten years have merely escalated them.

As you drive into the center of the city, the topography shifts quickly from one-story shops and factories to a few modern office buildings and department stores sprinkled among several dozen older ones, vintage 1930. MacFarland Park is located on the northern outskirts of the downtown district. It stands across the street from the Hotel Durant, a sad and sorry place that has seen its best days and knows it. The park is little more than a traffic island, a triangle at the intersection of two major arteries. Most people refer to it as simply "the War Memorial." Nobody remembers who the park was named after and the inscription on the memorial's plaque reads "Dedicated to the memory of all the brave men and women who have died in all the wars." It is here I attend my final peace demonstration of the decade, out in a lonely wasteland of a city, ending the '60s in the cold and silence.

I can't begin to count the number of demonstrations I have been to in the last ten years. That the number is so great comes not from any special fervor on my part. I have always been a little embarrassed and a little afraid whenever I joined a picket line or vigil. Whenever one is over, my immediate instinct is to melt into the

PHIL TRACY, *a frequent contributor, is a New York freelance writer and critic.*

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crowd before someone points me out as "one of them." If anything, I'm a moral coward and the hundreds of hours I have spent protesting these last ten years are only a sign of how much there has been that *had* to be protested. In all those hundreds of picket lines and vigils, sit-ins and knee-ins, this last struck me as the most humble, most silent.

The protest was scheduled as a vigil from 8 to 11 p.m. Perhaps in all a hundred people came; the actual number varied from minute to minute. Each carried the now familiar candle and paper cup and walked around the tiny triangle in a slow measured cadence. A small sign with one word, "Peace," was propped up at the base of the memorial along with several red and white candles which the wind would periodically extinguish. By 9 o'clock the 13-degree cold and the desire to be away from the place reduced the line to six or seven stalwarts. By 10 o'clock the group was down to three.

The vigil was called by the Flint Area Peace Watch and most of those who came, of course, were children—a few college students, a few bearded professionals, one guy who looked like a factory worker, and 50 or more teenagers. They came bundled against the cold and nobody wore a crash helmet. Whatever cops were in evidence remained inside their patrol cars, preferring warmth to any confrontations. They had little reason to worry, however; the solemnity of the protest would have been equally appropriate at a wake.

Meet Andrew Devlin

There is not a great deal to do at this kind of vigil except keep in line and watch each other shiver against the night. Eventually even the most taciturn strike up low-whispered conversations with one of those around them. The boy in front of me wore a brown suede cowboy jacket like the one Jon Voight wears in *Midnight Cowboy*, only this was lined and had a fur collar. The blue jeans, white sweat socks, cordovan shoes and a seaman's beanie combined with the jacket to give him a passé, thrown-together look and to camouflage the value of his clothing. His name was Andrew Devlin, a senior at one of the local private high schools and hopefully someday a lawyer. His father teaches math at a nearby Community College and although he wasn't present that night he supports his son's activities and is very much against the war. Andrew has an older sister recently graduated from the University of Michigan and a younger brother who's 8. Andrew hopes to go to Ann Arbor next year and study law after college. He wants to be a VISTA-type lawyer, working for poor people instead of corporations. "I want to be like Nader or one of those guys. You know, it's not the money. I just think that's how I can help things best."

Andrew is 17 and has decided to burn his draft card as soon as he receives one. He still has nine months before he is eligible for induction. The boy is already writing his statement of conscientious objection and, if the draft board refuses to grant him C.O. status, he is presently prepared to go to jail. He wasn't certain whether or not he could be called a pacifist. "Becoming a pacifist is like becoming a priest. You can't do something like that lightly 'cause it's a whole way of life and I'm not sure I have what it takes. I just know that I'm against all wars 'cause I think they don't solve anything. And I'm not gonna serve in the army and go kill people for something I don't believe in."

Although he has been involved with anti-war protests for over a year, Andrew never joined any organization, "I'm not much on joining groups. I don't see any point to it." He became involved in anti-war activities when Gene McCarthy was running for President. "McCarthy just said things that made sense." After the Chicago Convention he just sort of drifted along, reading and thinking about the war. There were a few small sporadic demonstrations in Flint which he attended and then last October he worked a lot with the local Moratorium committee, and went to Washington in November and carried the name of a dead soldier past the backside of the White House.

The war was not the only thing he was against. "The more I see of things, the more I think I'm getting to be against everything. Like the Panthers. At first I thought those guys were just crazy but now with the cops shooting them and all I'm not so sure that maybe they're right and what we need is a revolution." He still thought the Weathermen, who for some inexplicable reason were holding a "war council" in Flint later in the week, were insane for their attacks on the police in Chicago last October. "But I don't know any more. Everything seems to be going crazy in this country and who do you believe anymore?" I didn't have any answers.

After a while we fell into silence and just continued walking together. The line started thinning and even the candles didn't help to keep the fingers from growing numb. Finally the boy moved ahead in order to help fill the growing gap in the line.

I watched his face as he moved away, 17 and still fresh from the early evening shower. I searched for some common feature that once was a part of my own face ten years ago. Faces are supposed to look more or less the same but they don't. The skin's the same color, but that's where the similarities end. The kid's hair is down to his neck, his eyes are red from staying up late, and his mouth is slightly nervous the way people get when they've been up all night and are tired but don't have anything to keep their mind off sleep. There was nothing in common with the kid I once was ten long years ago.

On that night ten years ago I sat in a candy store drinking endless cokes waiting to pick up some date whose face has long since vanished. I took her to Mid-

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night Mass and later to a bar down the block for a couple of highballs. Later we went to her folks' house for Christmas breakfast and the trading of trinkets we both lost before Easter. Neither of us was old enough to be in that bar and the bartender knew it. But I took her there anyway and prayed that the bartender wouldn't ask for proof and, of course, he didn't. Only a subhuman would embarrass a kid on Christmas Eve in front of his girl and half the neighborhood, and the bartenders in Inwood were as human as any of their profession ever get.

If I told this kid about that night he would probably laugh in my face. It would all sound so primitive he might even feel sorry for me. How do you communicate the value of a phony draft card to a kid who plans to burn his real one as soon as he gets it? The gulf is too great to even bother trying.

Perhaps it's best to leave the past back where it belongs and let the kid live his own life unencumbered by other people's memories. Why bother shackling him with the acrid taste of ten bad years? Of the way John Kennedy stood on the Inaugural platform and took the oath of office and how each of us felt a little more determined, a little prouder watching this tall handsome *Irishman* become President of the country? How do you tell a kid 17 we once had a President who wasn't a spokesman for death?

How do you speak to him of the bus rides to Georgia and Alabama when we all were frightened and weren't afraid to admit it to each other and how we all rode those buses just the same? Of the late night journeys along back roads and the afternoon we drove into a small town with everyone on the floor of the bus while the state troopers smiled behind their sun glasses? How do you speak of the thousands of beatings and unpublicized killings of anonymous black men whose names the *New York Times* didn't see fit to print? Of the nights in jail and the days in the back of some musty Baptist church where they taught you how to protect face and groin at the same time? Of how the whole thing slowly went sour like milk sitting in the summer sun until the blacks and the whites could no longer work together, and you left after fighting with a friend of three hard years because the two of you no longer spoke the same language?

How do you talk of a day in November when someone came to the classroom door and the professor, receiving the message, calmly announced the President was dead and continued to lecture on the seven factors that contributed to Napoleon's defeat at Moscow? Of the numbness and the three long days of agony while you watched the vacant video emptiness and drank three cases of beer and still stayed sober and your father sat beside you in utter silence?

How do you communicate the lassitude of those middle years when the TV talked of a place called Vietnam and your head was filled with rushes from the pot and speed? How do you explain how you walked down Central Park West and saw Ken Kesey's crazy bus and went home and painted your whole apartment in psychedelic colors with 16 magic markers until your girlfriend left you because the fumes gave her migraine headaches? Of the spaced-out nights when you listened to Simon and Garfunkel, the Mamas and the Papas, the Beatles, the Stones, the Jefferson Airplane, and all the groups were new and their music was saying exactly what you felt?

And, finally, how do you tell him of the quiet steady cancer that grew up all around you while you tripped away those frightful years? Of the morning you watched the sun come up from the bedroom window while the radio announced "the roll call of riot cities this morning" and went on to read 17 names. Of the way they killed King on that motel terrace, and the way they took Bobby away in that obscene kitchen pantry and nobody but his friends and the blacks ever missed him? Of the way a friend called at 5 in the morning to say he'd been shot in the head? How you didn't cry but your stomach went cold and two years later it gets that way everytime his name is mentioned?

This poor kid with his face as weary as any middle-aged man, how do you tell him of the way the bile rises up in your throat whenever they show the news clips of these last ten lousy years? Why would anyone want to tell him such a horror story? Watch him as he stumbles down the seven levels of estrangement until he comes out at the bottom with his fist clenched and his face contorted behind the plastic shield of his crash helmet.

Watch him when he comes running down your street four or five years from now with the screams of the Algerian women in his throat, then see if you have the guts to shoot him down before he smashes your car, your home or your face. Try to tell him that Vietnam was just a bad mistake, a miscalculation, that the next time we'll pick an easier enemy or a stronger government to defend. Tell him the cops are not really vicious and the stories he hears of police assassinations and plain-clothes detectives posing as radicals are just the paranoia of a warped and wrinkled mind. Tell him that

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the phones aren't tapped and the government is responsive to the voice of the people. Tell him how America is trying to be better, how Franco, Salazar and the Greek junta are necessary evils and not really examples of our idea of a viable democracy. Tell him we really don't buy and sell each other, tell him that our world is something more than plastic, tell him of the rosy future he and the country can expect.

You tell him how the land isn't really rotting under our feet. How the jokes about dead fish in the Hudson and the Cleveland River catching on fire are merely the cynical wisecracks of a few professional funnymen. How the birds don't die breathing the air we raise our children in and the land isn't poisoned by insecticides and fertilizers. How the food we eat isn't soaked in formaldehydes and preservatives and the cigarette ads will be phased out by the end of 1972. *You* tell him what kind of country we've managed to build and when he turns away with hate and disgust in his face, go get sick in some corner of your soul—the boy is your child; I don't have enough heart left to father one.

I don't have a stomach strong enough to ask anyone to pledge allegiance to this flag or this country. I'm still too young to ask anyone to die for this mortuary. I'm not asking anyone to believe that the next ten years will be anything other than poison and death.

At 17, the boy still believes that "getting people together" will somehow redeem the sordid corpse our country has become. At 17, he still thinks that his "culture of life" will overcome this culture of death. At 17, he still thinks there is time left to end the war, free the political prisoners, legalize pot and ban the poisons from our land. At 17, he still thinks the country is salvageable. What purpose would be served by my telling him it isn't?

Finally a car pulled up across the street and waited while the boy said goodbye and placed his candle next to the others by the memorial's base. He gave a final victory sign and crossed the street to join his father. As the car light flashed on you caught a glimpse of a middle-aged man with a neat vandyke. The man seemed to smile and pat the boy on the back as the door closed the light off. Shortly thereafter I left myself, my hands and feet numbed by the cold and my brain scrambled by such ugly hopeless thoughts.

So this is the way we are ending the decade—hundreds of people in hundreds of small towns and thousands in most of the big ones, all clutching frail candles and praying for peace and trying to forget the horror of tomorrow. All across the country most of the young and a few of the old are desperately trying to turn off the death machine. So many people, as yet unwilling to forsake their past, unable to live with the atrocities of the present, still uncertain which side they must join. We are ending this decade in confusion and complexity. If you listen closely you can almost hear the rending sound of the country as it tears itself apart.

The sour feeling of despair and the images from ten years' worth of wasted blood mingled with the sweet and scented smoke from blown-out candles as the last protesters left MacFarland Park to the war dead and the pigeons. In Washington the President sang Christmas carols with his family while somewhere in the nation the young made plans for America's last decade.

THE FREE MINISTRY

A small and open-ended freedom movement

EUGENE C. BIANCHI

When 200 representatives of the European Assembly of Priests met in Rome during the recent bishops' synod, they received extraordinary publicity in news media. For days Italian and other newspapers ran parallel stories on prominent pages of the bishops' synod and the dissident priests' gathering. Just before the American bishops met in Washington in November, a similar movement of U. S. priests, the Society of Priests for a Free Ministry, held its first national conference. Within the last six months, SPFM has doubled its constituency to nearly a thousand American priests, active and inactive, in addition to lay associates. These movements of dissident priests in the Roman Catholic Church present a novel challenge to ecclesial theology and structure.

Most of the members of SPFM are priests who have left the clergy, married, and continue their ministry, liturgical and other, in a variety of ways. This development is itself a remarkable phenomenon, since only a few years ago, priests who left the clergy faded away because of personal choice or social compulsion. Free ministry priests do not continue their ministries from some superstitious hangup about having undergone an ordination ceremony.

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Rather they realize that their history and training can still be of service to Christian communities. They hold that married life and secular styles help rather than harm their ministries.

I understand SPFM as a small and open-ended freedom movement, part of much wider freedom movements in contemporary society. It wants to provide for all priests wider options of self-determination in ministry and life style than are now possible. *Free* ministry, therefore, does not intend the odious implication that priests in the structures are involved in unfree ministries. It is better to read the *free* as *freer,* that is, as ways of ministry that allow for greater self-determination about life goals and styles than now permitted in the still semi-monastic Catholic priesthood.

A free ministry movement is not a call to anarchy, schism or bitter divisiveness in the church. Our histories have planted us in the Roman Catholic tradition. We respect the values of that long heritage, and, while we criticize and seek to correct Catholic abuses, we want the church to grow in its servant function.

In its written documents and concrete actions, SPFM tries to foster communication with hierarchy and laity. On the local level, SPFM people have developed good relations with associations of priests in various dioceses. Nationally, SPFM is negotiating with the National Federation of Priests Councils for closer ties in their joint efforts to reform priestly ministry. In mid-October SPFM representatives met with the liaison committee of the National Conference of Catholic Bishops to discuss new forms of ministry. SPFM is collaborating with the National Association for Pastoral Renewal, which sponsors broad educational projects for a change in celibacy legislation for priests. Relations have been established with the National Association of Laymen and their local affiliates.

Yet beyond these concrete instances of collaboration, the more theological-theoretical problem of divisiveness remains. In order to resolve the issue at the theological level, we must understand more fully that the Holy Spirit is not tied down to present canonical legislation nor to a feudal-medieval model of priest-bishop relations. The Spirit works not only through the hierarchy and official Catholic movements, but also through groups that represent critical and creative dissent in the church. As a new consciousness continues to grow among Catholic priests and laity about the need for freer forms of worship, life style and involvement, it becomes all the more important for prophetic individuals and groups to continue their critical strivings within the Catholic church. Those who control the vast human and material resources of the institutional church cannot be left to operate as though they were beyond criticism.

Dissent movements frequently call for resistance to laws, thought forms and life styles of the past. An analogy can be made to Martin Luther King's resistance to the "canon laws" and the mind-set of Alabama in the Montgomery bus boycott. Was such action un-American or un-Christian simply because it was illegal? Of course, this analogy is not perfectly adequate to repressive life styles among the Roman Catholic clergy and laity, but the basic resistance principle is the same. Throughout the history of the church, we find examples of reform movements that were initially opposed by ecclesiastical authority, and only gradually became recognized and incorporated into the wider church institution.

Criticisms

Some critics maintain that free ministry movements are divisive because they separate themselves from the control and jurisdiction of the bishops. It is true that the bishop, as one type of church leader, has been understood in history as a symbol of unity. But this unity should not be so tightly circumscribed that it becomes a kind of uniformity with no place for creative dissent. Such uniformity in modern church history has led to a stifling conformity often exacted by the episcopal hierarchy in the name of unity, but in reality it was exercised for purposes of organizational control. It would be false to suppose that the present monarchical episcopate were some kind of divine institution established by Christ and universally acclaimed in the New Testament. Most reputable scripture scholars today agree diverse forms of polity existed in the early church. The monarchical episcopate as we know it was a gradual historical development; it should not be absolutized as the only worthwhile form of polity for all Christian communities for all time.

Moreover, polity structures, whether they be congregational, presbyterial or episcopal, are secondary to the far more basic elements of Christianity: the promotion of missionary communities of faith, hope and love in each place. Polity structures were established to serve the needs of these communities, and not to reverse the order of values in Christianity by placing any form of ecclesiastical office and structure in an idolatrous position over the LAOS, the people of God. The main thrust of Vatican II documents and subsequent studies are also in the direction of relativizing the medieval model of hierarchy, of giving value to other (non-Roman Catholic) forms of church leadership, and of emphasizing people and not hierarchy as the fundamental determinant of the Christian community.

Yet even within the perspective of union with the episcopate, an argument could be made for forms of free ministry. Is it not too rigid to say that to be in union with the church a minister must be in canonical, incardinated union with one bishop? In church history many religious order priests have not been in *effective* canonical union with one bishop. But more importantly, free ministry can maintain a union in spirit with a whole section of the Catholic episcopate. For example, I find myself in general agreement with such bishops as Cardinals Suenens, Marty,

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Alfrink, and many others. Why is it absolutely necessary that I be legally incardinated into one of their dioceses in order that my ministry be united in spirit with these bishops? A number of bishops are open to the idea of a married clergy. Is it really necesssary or essential to wait until all the canonical details have been formulated and promulgated before we in any way exercise a married ministry? Such adulation of law and order has never been characteristic of the most progressive periods of church history.

Ecumenical Pitfalls

There are also ecumenical pitfalls in the course of evaluating ministry only in relationship to Roman Catholic bishops. For such a position rests on an assumption that has been radically challenged by the implications of modern Catholic ecumenism. This assumption is that all ministry, be it cultic or other, is determined by canonical affiliation with Roman Catholic bishops. But has not Vatican II abundantly pointed to the extension of "church" beyond Roman Catholicism? Does not the Decree on Ecumenism see true religious worth in the leadership of other communions? The exclusive episcopal model for validating ministries is not only theologically passé but ecumenically insulting. Standing in the Roman Catholic tradition, I appreciate the possibilities for witness of a truly reformed episcopate, but I cannot maximize that leadership as though by some denominational miracle it were the only pastoral standard in the whole Christian community by which a priest or layman could validate his ministry.

I am proposing that we look to a deeper standard of judgment in assessing the worth of Christian ministry. In looking for this deeper criterion, I do not exclude the episcopal function of laying on hands and of testing various spirits. But a more fundamental determinant of the value of ministry is how well the latter meets the needs of Christian communities. Catholic priests and lay persons outside of canonically approved structures are responding to the needs, liturgical and other, of a growing number of Christian communities. Many persons in these communities do not find significant religious wisdom and experience in their local parishes. It is not a question of a free ministry leader's forcing himself on the people; on the contrary, a community often searches for a specially trained man to open the word of God to them in a particular context. Such recognition of the people, the LAOS in a particular place, is an eminently validating Christian reality.

Finally, the argument against free ministry based on divisiveness states that such ministries are those of false shepherds who lead the people astray. Let me speak here from my own experience and from that of other free ministry men. We try to communicate a sense of respect for the values present in the full heritage of the Catholic past. Many of us live rewardingly in various spheres: the official local church, the free ministry community and the broader ecumenical church. These communities need not be mutually exclusive, but rather, they can be complementary. At my home in recent months we have had enriching dialogue with monsignors, officials of approved national clerical groups, individual priests, nuns, laity and non-Catholic Christians. Moreover, the lay persons who gather occasionally for worship with us are not thoughtless sheep, or children who must be led by the hand. For especially in free ministry experiences we find a horizontal, fraternal kind of adult community, a fellowship of mutually shared charisms. Such horizontal fellowships underline the primordial priesthood of all believers, and provide some models for the future church.

It should be admitted, however, that no perfect solution exists for avoiding destructive divisiveness in the church, when persons engage in important dissenting movements. At best, we can strive to avoid two tendencies toward harmful divisions: the montanist and the gnostic attitudes towards the church. The montanists of the early church believed themselves to be possessed of a special holiness; the gnostics laid claim to an otherworldly wisdom for salvation. Against the montanist viewpoint of finding the Spirit only in their dissident band, a free ministry community must be willing to sit in judgment on its own prophetic motivation and the honesty of its own commitments. Against the gnostic rejection of imperfect human structures, a free ministry group cannot abdicate its

responsibility to work for the reform of the institutional church. It is a form of non-incarnational folly to turn away from human institutions, especially those capable of great good, in favor of some esoteric community of salvation.

From the start SPFM resisted the charge of fashioning a new clericalism, a new caste of button-down clergy headed for secular, suburban bliss. Yet the danger of another clericalism lurks just beneath the surface of a movement like SPFM. It is understandable that SPFM should want to help priests maintain a sense of continuity with their personal past at this juncture of church history. Moreover, SPFM does not wish to jeopardize its opportunity to collaborate more closely with the National Federation of Priests Councils toward the goal of renewal for

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all Catholic priests. Nevertheless, the time will soon come for all priests' groups to move towards a fuller partnership with the ministry of the laity, towards a wider *fellowship for free ministry*. In this way we would be manifesting more truly the primordial priesthood of all believers which is shared by lay priests and ordained priests through faith and baptism. This natural shifting of direction is not a denial of the value of the special commissioning of priestly ordination. Rather it would show that ordination, while important as a standard of unity and legitimation, is secondary. Ordination itself takes on its deepest significance as an ordination for living dialogue with the whole believing community.

We would be moving away from the paternal and vertical style of priesthood we have known in the past to more fraternal and horizontal styles of Christian community. Within this community, the specially trained and ordained minister could still contribute in cultic, religious and prophetic ways in keeping with his training and talents. But he would do this as a brother, an equal with his lay fellows in the Christian community. In many ways the priestly ministries of the laity, be they cultic, spiritual or secular, would complement and enrich the life of the ordained minister and the whole brotherhood in each place. Put simply, it is self-defeating to speak of ministry today unless it be the ministry of the whole community, which is formed most fundamentally by believing Christians, and not by secondary distinctions between laity and clergy. This wider fellowship would strive to develop liberating options in worship, community life and secular involvements.

Role of the Priest-Minister

Within this wider context of free ministry, what is the role of the priest-minister? Here I am speaking mainly of the specially ordained minister but also by analogy I refer to his lay brother who shares in the basic priesthood of all believers. It would be a mistake to think we could work out a definitive theology of priesthood as an essential preliminary for any free ministry activity. I think this would be a distracting waste of time, because it is impossible to once and for all define the role of the minister. Since he lives in a changing historical community, his functions must be constantly redefined according to the needs of the fellowship. This does not mean that we can say nothing significant about what it means to be a minister today, but whatever we say should flow from ongoing reflection on the lived experience of the church. Moreover, our new insights into the meaning of ministry will stem more from learning by doing than from an ivory-tower analysis of priesthood.

We can describe a minister's functions for the community under three headings. First, there is a liturgical-sacramental role that the minister fulfills as a coordinator and guide for the worshipping community. Yet, even though the ordained minister may act as a leader in liturgy and sacraments, we cannot stress too much the importance of active participation of the unordained ministers in all of these religious events. The whole community, not just the ordained leader, performs the liturgy of word and eucharist, as well as the other sacraments. The whole community consecrates, not just the priest. The whole believing fellowship is able to open up the word according to the knowledge and charisms present in it. The whole community is the living locus and source of sacramental value, because the community is the human, fallible continuation in history of the primordial sacrament, Jesus Christ.

A second function of the minister in free ministry communities is that of spiritual guide. In our highly secular culture, it is especially important that Christians find personal and communal guidance in their spiritual lives. The ideal, of course, would be that the specially chosen minister for the community be a man of considerable religious wisdom and experience, a Christian guru for the twentieth century who speaks from living insights more than from seminary texts. Mutual spiritual guidance among the ordained and unordained ministers in the community is especially needed today. For the laity is better educated, more widely experienced and able to share articulately the deeper realms of their own spirituality with all their brothers and sisters in the community.

Thirdly, the minister has a prophetic role of apostolic secularity or a religiously-motivated secularity. He would try to sensitize the Christian community itself to the problems of race, peace and poverty in the world. The minister would also try to awaken in the people a search for concrete reconciling activities that promote a deepening of the quality of human life. It is especially crucial to recognize that both the inner and outer directions of prophetic secularity are eminently Christian. These awakenings and involvements are intimately related to the Gospel in our time; they ought not to be interpreted as unessential parallel efforts of do-gooders. The relationship between Christianizing and humanizing is intrinsic, not externally imposed. Wherever men are being liberated from oppressive powers, be they psychological, economic, political or cultural, there the Gospel of freedom is coming alive.

In all of these ways the minister, either the specially ordained or the lay minister, seeks to become a catalyst for communication, reflection, and involvement within the Christian community and the wider human community. Such a minister today should be able to be married or unmarried, a part-time servant or a full-time pastor, a man or a woman. The minister is not the one who has pat answers, but rather a person who asks the right questions. The minister is not a paternal controller of individuals and communities, but rather he is an enabler, who works to bring alive in persons and groups the word of reconciliation.

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CHICANO IS BEAUTIFUL

The new militancy and Mexican-American identity

CELIA S. HELLER

The Mexican Americans share with the Blacks in the United States the common situation of being a large disadvantaged minority. Both rank way below the majority group in occupation, income, and education. Also, Mexican Americans like American Blacks are characterized by ghetto life, little intergenerational advancement, and home socialization that is dissonant with the socialization received at school.

The above has led liberals in general, and some social scientists in particular, to lump Mexican Americans and Blacks together and to assume that they would fit together because of common interests (interests in the Marxist sense of the term). Significantly, the fact that they are disadvantaged minorities has seldom brought them together and—in the rare instances when they came in contact for a common cause—has not proved sufficient to hold them together. In regard to the latter, the examples of the March on Washington or the divisions within the Third World Liberation Front are very much to the point. As for the first, by and large Mexican Americans have kept apart from the Negro struggle for equality. The sharp example is that of Mexican Americans voting heavily in California in November of 1964 for Proposition 14, to outlaw *anti*-discrimination legislation in housing. Fernando Penalosa, a Mexican sociologist, explained this vote thus: "Mexican Americans apparently failed to realize that the measure was directed against them as well as against the Negroes."

Central to the understanding of what divides these groups is the exploration of the self-identity of each. My main theme here is that the basis, the manifestations and problems of identity among Mexican Americans are essentially different from those among Blacks. I am fully aware that there are today very vocal Mexican American youths who are beginning to emulate the rhetoric and the tactics of Black militants, but I want to stress that this is emulation and it is a conscious and purposive emulation.

The rhetoric and the tactics of Black militancy have emerged from the Negroes' desperate search for identity to counteract long-nurtured inferiority feelings. As is recognized by Stokely Carmichael, the author of the phrase, Black Power represents more than an attempt to raise the socio-economic status of the Negro: it aims at the improvement of the Negro's self-image. Martin Luther King who rejected its strategies nevertheless acknowledged that Black Power expresses "a psychological call to manhood."

In contrast, Mexican Americans who are adopting Black Power's tactics do so mainly in order to improve the socio-economic conditions of Mexican Americans. Their reasoning is very pragmatic: these tactics have yielded results for Blacks while the usual Mexican American responses have not brought comparable results. They point to such examples as the following: although there are about twice as many Mexican Americans as Negroes in California, in the Berkeley Opportunity Program Negroes outnumber Mexican Americans nine to one.

Black militancy represents a pattern hitherto not manifested by any immigrant group in the United States. But then the Negroes' status as a minority in the United States was not brought about by immigration but, in a sense, by conquest. Thus they resemble in their history and in their responses more the pattern of colonial peoples than immigrant groups in the United States. Mexican Americans, on the other hand, largely fit the pattern of immigrant groups. True, the areas in which Mexican Americans are concentrated originally belonged to Mexico. But the Mexican American population of today consists mostly of immigrants and children or grandchildren of immigrants. They, unlike the Blacks, were not brought here by force but, like other immigrants, came here to improve their lot.

Recent immigrants to the United States, irrespective of country of origin, are generally concentrated at the bottom of the socio-economic ladder. Among many ethnic groups, the process of moving toward the occupational distribution of the majority population starts with the second generation; among a few groups, such as Jews and Japanese, it begins in the first generation, and among others later. The findings of my empirical study on mobility-oriented youth, as well as other studies, suggests a new trend toward upward mobility which would indicate that Mexican Americans do not constitute an exception to the pattern of intergenerational advancement. The process of responding to the American ideology of advancement observed in all other immigrant groups is similarly reenacted here although it took longer to initiate it. What typically took place in immigrant groups in the second generation is now occurring among third- and fourth-generation Mexican Americans.

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One of the factors that slowed down Mexican American mobility and is closely tied to the question of ethnic identity is that, in a sense, "passing" was easier for Mexican Americans than other immigrant groups. Accomplished Mexican Americans had a ready-made road which they could follow and spare themselves many of the hardships experienced particularly by Negroes but also the descendants of foreign laborers and peasants in general. They could claim to be "Old Spanish" and thus be acceptable in the higher strata of American society, if only their Indian mixture did not betray them. The presence in the Southwest of the alternate definition, "Old Spanish," without the disparaging connotation of "Mexican" provided "a ready rationalization for the vertically mobile individuals and the host population." Often it even spared the Mexican Americans the trouble of name-changing since the Spanish name carried a prestige value in the higher circles of the Southwest. This is connected with the widespread "Hispano" myth.

But the claim to be "Old Spanish" which proved so advantageous to individual Mexican Americans proved disadvantageous for the Mexican American community. It slowed down the process of upward mobility for Mexican Americans as a whole. This practice deprived the younger generation of success models and success heroes. Noteworthy is the absence among Mexican Americans of a folklore of success comparable to that which exists among other immigrant groups in the United States: the poor Mexican from the ghetto who made good.

There are indications, however, that the pattern of the successful Mexican Americans' forsaking the community is being abandoned. Actually the change is a postwar phenomenon. The ex-G.I.'s returning from war must have remembered that they fought on foreign battlefields, and many of their comrades died there, without having to claim to be "Old Spanish." At any rate, many of the returning G.I.'s who were determined to advance, chose not to take the road of "passing" as "Old Spanish." Thus a number of men, who have achieved prominence since World War II, have maintained and emphasized their ties with the Mexican American community.

As for the mobility-oriented Mexican American boys whom I interviewed in the summer of 1965, none of them thought that they would follow the road of "Old Spanish" and give up their Mexican American identity. While the choice of breaking with the community does not yet present itself as an actual alternative to the ambitious youngsters (as we said, it comes to those who have reached some prominence), the alternate definition, calling oneself "Spanish," does tempt them. It presents itself in the experience of not being recognized as being Mexican, being referred to as Spanish, being told that one is the exception among Mexicans. The thought is born that one could, if one wanted to, not be Mexican any longer.

As Everett Hughes put it, this is the kind of betrayal to which we are all subject in some degree. Use of the alternate designation may pave the way for an eventual break with the Mexican American community. Surely it would be a smoother transition for the person who heard himself designated as Spanish and referring to himself as Spanish to add, when the proper time came, "Old" to the designation. But it is far from easy, psychologically speaking, for a youth to begin to consider himself Spanish, especially when at home he has been taught to "be proud" of being Mexican.

Let me illustrate from the interview with Joe Valdez (fictitious name), a nineteen-year-old Los Angeles high school graduate working as a dental technician. He related:

"I work in Beverly Hills. I went to cash my check in a bank. There was a lady there: her name was Vargas. And I don't know what got into me. Instead of asking her whether she is Mexican I asked her: 'Are you Spanish?' She got kind of annoyed. 'No,' she said, 'I'm Mexican.' It was kind of shocking. I got thinking. I asked her if she was Spanish; deep inside I didn't want to offend her; I

RECENT BOOKS ON MEXICAN AMERICANS

Heller, Celia S., *Mexican American Youth: Forgotten Youth at the Crossroads,* New York: Random House, 1966 (paperback).

A concise introduction to the Mexican American field. In two background chapters, the author reviews the data on the origin of this minority, on home and socialization patterns, distinctive value systems, and the complex school problems. The focus of the book is on youth.

McWilliams, Carey, *North from Mexico: The Spanish-Speaking People of the United States,* New York: Greenwood Press, 1969 (paperback).

An unrevised reprinting, with a new introduction, of the pioneering work published 20 years ago. It is a history of the "Spanish-speaking" people of the Southwest, from the time these territories belonged to Mexico through the '40s. McWilliams exposes the myth of Mexican American "docility."

Madsen, William, *The Mexican-Americans of South Texas,* New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1964 (paperback).

An anthropologist's examination of culture and mental health in the lower Rio Grande Valley. It deals mainly with Mexican Americans in rural areas.

Steiner, Stan, *La Raza: the Mexican Americans*, New York: Harper & Row, to be published Feb. 4. Popular and wide ranging portrait of today's Mexican-American world, shaken by protests and militancy.

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didn't want to hurt her feelings (by asking her if she was Mexican). I thought about it and I felt like a fool. She said, 'No, I'm Mexican.' Just like that."

Although no exact studies exist on this subject, observers agree that "Spanish" as a self-designation is on the wane among young Mexican Americans. As a matter of fact, the term "Chicano," formerly confined to use only when in the presence of other Mexican Americans, is now gaining prominence as a general designation.

We know that "passing" is only one of the ways—and an infrequent one—in which marginal people try to solve the problems of marginality. The Mexican American youths of today, often third- and fourth-generation Americans, are facing the problems of marginality and assimilation which many other immigrant groups met in the second generation. Their identity is imbedded in the Mexican culture and their concern is with being American. How different this is from the concern of the Negroes!

The question of being American is not problematical for Blacks: they are preoccupied with creating an identity. Through slavery, the Blacks, who were forcefully brought to America, were stripped of their native cultures. Their tribal organization, religion, family life and language were systematically destroyed. Black militants are trying to reconstruct quickly a heritage and a past. But Mexican Americans possess fairly structured images of their past. And they have retained important elements of the Mexican heritage, including the language.

Take the element of honor, so central in Latin American culture, which Mexican Americans have continued to adhere to. Honor, in their conception, is tied to an inner integrity which every person is supposed to have as part of his Latin-American birthright and which he is to guard jealously against all. The separate system of honor has protected Mexican Americans psychologically—as it has some other immigrant groups such as Jews and Japanese—against the effects of stigmatization by the larger society. Ethnicity and race are to a large measure considered to carry a stigma in the United States. But the separate Mexican American system of honor—like that of some other immigrant groups—has cushioned the blows that accompany stigmatization. This contrasts sharply with the situation of the Negro who neither possesses a cultural mechanism for cushioning stigmatization nor the possibility of escaping it through "passing." The recent slogans of "Black is beautiful" and its manifestations represent a conscious attempt to forge such a mechanism.

The commitment to the Mexican value of honor can serve to illustrate the larger proposition that Mexican culture has continued to have a hold on third- and fourth-generation Mexican Americans to a degree that the ethnic culture has not on the third- or fourth-generation of other large immigrant groups, including Jews. Thus, Mexican American youth faces the problems of cultural conflict that other groups faced in the second generation. Its solutions, however, are not typical second-generation solutions.

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The typical second-generation solution of other immigrant groups was the rejection of the parental culture, especially the parental language. To the immigrant parents the ethnic culture was a way of life, in great measure unquestioned. The second generation viewed it as a 'dead hand of the past' and tended to perceive the parental language and customs as obstacles standing in the way of their full Americanization. However, as Nahirny and Fishman explain, "the very attempt of some of the sons to cut loose all the ties that bound them to the ethnic community reflected their manifold involvement in it." They were rooted in the ethnic culture which they consciously rejected.

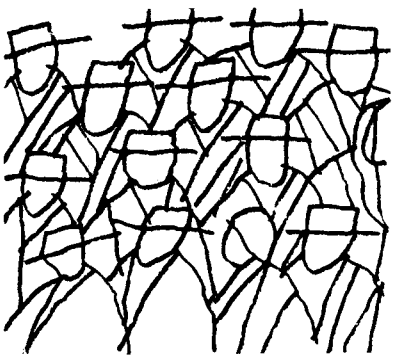
Similar to the second generation and in contrast to the third and fourth generation of other immigrant groups, Mexican American youths are characterized by a manifold involvement in their ethnic community. And yet they do not manifest the extensive rejection of the parental culture that characterized the second generation of immigrants. Furthermore, since Mexican Americans have not gone through a stage of purposive estrangement from the traditional culture to the extent that other immigrant groups have, they are not likely to develop the kind of "rediscovery" of the traditional culture that has been peculiar in the third generation. The usual pattern in America is that the ethnic heritage and language cease to play a viable role in the third generation. The grandchildren of immigrants are largely untouched by the culture of their grandparents. But some of them find what their parents rejected interesting (in an exotic sense) and try to revive certain aspects of it. The third generation's revival lacks, however, the emotional depth that marked the rejection of the ethnic culture by the second generation.

The Mexican American response to marginality is not that of rejecting the traditional culture and language. Neither is it that of a rediscovery of the parental culture and language in the manner manifested in the third generation of other immigrant groups, described above. The typical Mexican American response to marginality is rather that of combining the ethnic status with the status of American in a way as to broaden and redefine the latter: to reduce "both the inner dilemma and the outward contradiction" of the two statuses.

Evolution of an Idea

How has this response evolved? Following World War II, an idea emerged among Mexican Americans, the idea of "the best of two worlds." Some mobile Mexican Americans were voicing this sentiment and searching for ways to combine what they considered best in the parental and the host cultures. But in the late '50s and beginning '60s it seemed that this response was being overshadowed by the typical second-generation response of rejecting the parental language and customs. Nevertheless, in the last few years the "best of the two worlds" response has become the dominant one. I am convinced that the Negroes' search for identity was a strong influence in this direction. Mexican Americans gained a new appreciation for the ethnic identity to which they were heirs when they saw how hard Blacks were trying to shape an ethnic identity.

When I interviewed mobility-oriented boys in the summer of 1965, I was struck by their preoccupation with the issue of how to be American and yet retain some elements of the Mexican culture. They felt American and wanted to be considered as such. However, in contrast to the sparse mobility-oriented Mexican Americans of the past generations, they did not reject their heritage



but valued some of its features. This came out convincingly at various points of the interviews. Let me illustrate from the interview with Ricardo Montez, an eighteen-year-old who had just completed a year's work at a major university:

"They say you are culturally deprived, a stupid term. It's just another thing that after a while you just laugh at. It shows the mentality of the people who use it. How in heaven can you be culturally deprived when you have lived in one culture and inherited another one? You are bi-cultural, you are bilingual, and you are 'culturally disadvantaged'. . . . The way I look at it, you're caged within one culture and you don't necessarily have to be. . . . You are actually in a cage. . . . But if you have two cultures and you are drawing from both of them, you don't necessarily have to take one thing because it's there. You find what's more useful from one culture or the other and you take it."

Another eighteen-year-old, Peter Camacho, who had just graduated from an industrial course in high school and hoped to be an electrical engineer, had this to say:

"I think even the Irish or Jewish had at one time to prove themselves. There was a time when they had to make themselves fit into the American way of life. I think this is the stage we are going through now. We have to prove ourselves and fit into the American way of life."

I: "Are there any difficulties in fitting into the American way of life?"

He: "For one thing we have a culture that we really don't want to let go. . . ."

In the past generation one of the first things mobility-oriented Mexican Americans (who were not numerous)

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gave up consciously was their language. They spoke English to their children and purposefully avoided exposing them to Spanish. Behind it was their strong conviction that this was the only way to overcome the handicaps of their children, to make them monolingual like the children in the majority population.

Today mobility-oriented youths tend to speak English to their parents, who often address them in Spanish. In doing so they display a pattern of language behavior which is relatively new among Mexican Americans but which manifested itself among other immigrant groups in the second generation. However, in contrast to the latter —many of whom understood but did not speak the language of their parents—all the boys I interviewed spoke some Spanish, even those whose parents spoke English to them.

The aim of the mobility-oriented boys is to master English as the main language of communication but at the same time to know Spanish. The fact that they attach importance to the parental language which the second generation of other immigrant groups did not, is partly due to the new appreciation for foreign languages in America. Another factor in the retention of the language is the close contact with grandparents, for extended family ties persist strongly among Mexican Americans. Also, young people are able to make occasional visits to Mexico, a short trip from many places in the Southwest. Obviously, visits to the country of origin were not as easy for the children of other immigrants. But these visits across the border tend to have a double effect: on one hand they strengthen their consciousness of a Mexican heritage but, on the other hand, they heighten their awareness of how American they are.

The responses I have been discussing are those of mobility-oriented Mexican American youths. The emergence of the "ambitious" as a social type among Mexican American youth is a postwar phenomenon. They are the actual and future "college boys." The phrases often used by adults and youngsters, "He wants to go to college" or "He's a college boy," have a built-in image of a type that differs from most Mexican American boys and contrasts sharply with the delinquent, formerly known as *pachuco* and now as *cholo*. Actually the "ambitious" and the "delinquent" can be regarded as polar types—in terms of value orientation and behavior—and the great bulk of Mexican American youth falls somewhere between.

These three types of youths differ markedly but are not isolated either physically or socially from one another, for their paths often cross. It can be said that Mexican American youth society is characterized by social differentiation without much isolation. What caught my attention when talking to ambitious boys was that, despite their great devotion to success, they displayed not contempt but, on the contrary, tolerance for those who did not seek success but followed more traditional paths. Their attitude contrasted sharply with the negative images of "lazy" and "uncooperative" that the "college" boys had of the "street corner" boys in William Foote Whyte's *Street Corner Society*. The attitude of the ambitious Mexican American boys is consistent with the Mexican respect for the individual and his right to determine his own course of action.

This accommodating relationship that exists among the different types of Mexican American youths suggests that the "ambitious" youths of today will emerge as the effective leaders of the Mexican American community tomorrow. The answer to the question whether they will lead them along indigenous Mexican American paths or along paths borrowed from the Black militants does not lie with them alone. It lies more with the dominant group. The way it seems now is that the dominant group is not willing to yield to Mexican Americans even that which Blacks have achieved through riots and militant tactics.

Also, the mass media of communication are focusing attention on the incipient Mexican American militancy. Unlike in the past when Mexican American life was almost completely ignored, the Mexican American spokesmen and manifestations of militancy are brought dramatically into the limelight. The mass media may thus play a role in the development of Mexican American militancy which emerged in the emulation of Blacks.

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JOANNE CHILDERS

LINES ON REVISITING AN OLD HOME, NOW A FUNERAL PARLOR

This parlor, now funereal, tells the course
Of Saturdays, the joys of rain,
Of tapestry, tassels, furnishings that seemed
Of special worth. I think they had the blessing
Of memoried sweetness. Nothing remains

More clearly than a scroll of ivy vine
Or a river view with tales to tell
From a walled-in garden of prinking birds. These marvels
Invent a childish transport, fictive games
Cast in a timeless sorcered spell.

But now uncountable days of transformation
Have given this home a new address.
In this floral peopled room I shake cold hands,
Recognize little. Outside lights come on.
The river drops in gentleness.

Then I, romantic phantom, walk outside.
A dark wind shakes my wit.
There are ghosts in shades of trees that kill,
There is a moon that deftly picks me out,
And a voice shouts "You will be caught!"

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BOOKS

Re: violence, protest and the betrayal of the Third World

Violence: Reflections from a Christian Perspective

JACQUES ELLUL

Seabury Press, $4.95

ANNE FREMANTLE

When Jesus declared that "those that take the sword shall perish by the sword" he was not threatening a punishment, nor even making a judgment on the nature of violence. He was announcing an ethical law. Now ethical laws are as absolute as physical laws. Both can be defied: I can defy gravity by jumping out of a window, but I will break my leg or neck; I can touch the subway's live rail: but I cannot escape the consequences.

Cause and effect operate no less in the moral than in the physical sphere: M. Ellul shows that the result of violence, whatever its excuse, is more violence. His conclusion is that for the Christian, *qua* Christian, violence is always forbidden: I can never say as a Christian that I must become part of the 1944 Putsch against Hitler or join the guerrillas with Camillo Torres. I may do so "in spite of being a Christian."

I must admit that "violence has its virtues. It can bring about the disorder that is necessary when the established order is only a sanctimonious injustice; therefore condemnable and condemned. Within the system of necessities, violence may be a valid means." In his brief, closely reasoned, pemmican style, Ellul arrives at these conclusions by arguments that are sometimes specious, but always interesting.

Any reflections on violence must be made in the shadow of Georges Sorel. M. Ellul agrees, for example, "when the social order has turned into a moralistic conformist system, then it is (socially) good that violence should crush the lie. Here Sorel is right." But this reader asks how can any good—social, political, ethical, aesthetic—how can *any* good of *any* kind not be Christian? All good is from God, all good belongs to Him, and to say violence is permitted so long as no pretense is made that it can ever be Christian, is affirming that there can be a good that is not His—which surely is a position no Christian can possibly take.

M. Ellul skims gracefully over Christian history. The error that violence can be Christian he imputes to "the hairy, savage hermits" of the third and fourth centuries, who wielded gnarled

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sticks (what about St. Cyril and Hypatia?) and he follows all the Christian protagonists of social violence from Joachim of Floris through Thomas Munzer and the Levelers.

The "casuistry of the just war" began as early as the Council of Arles, leading up to St. Thomas' position that violence can "be kept in the service of order and justice and even of peace, that violence is good or bad depending on the use or purpose it is put to." Karl Barth took over this view, but M. Ellul finds it erroneous. He also affirms that Munich was a good thing, as was non-intervention in Italy's invasion of Ethiopia. Yet this non-violence led to greater violence.

Today, he adds, non-violence has become partisan and politicized. French pacifists protested the Algerian War, but ignored the violence of the NLF; they protested American intervention in Vietnam, but not Vietcong cruelty.

He finds there are three historical Christian positions with regard to the use of violence. First, that violence has its uses and its abuses, and that every historical situation must be met on its own terms: this is generally the orthodox Catholic position. Second, the absolute pacifist position, of Quakers, Jehovah's Witnesses, etc. Third, the position that the underdog is always right. Christians holding this have chosen the "poor" but towards the "bad" they are pitiless. All these positions M. Ellul considers "monist." That is, they are based on the idea that society can be reorganized on Christian lines. But—and here he makes his own position quite clear—all adherents of these three positions forget that "this is the world that has absolutely rejected Jesus Christ" and that "there can be no accord between the values . . . of the world and those of the revelation." For he finds the world "radically, totally evil": God, he says, loved it so because "it is by nature detestable."

Surely this is pure Manicheanism? How can any created thing—much less "the world" be wholly evil? Can *any* Christian today—or yesterday or tomorrow—take such a position? Did Luther, upon whom M. Ellul leans so heavily?

M. Ellul is on surer ground when he analyzes the three laws of violence. The first is continuity: "once you start using violence, you cannot get away from it." The second is reciprocity: the "sheer fact of taking the sword" entails the consequences: "violence creates violence, begets and procreates violence."

And the third law is sameness: "the velvet-glove violence of the powerful who maintain the regimes of injustice, exploitation, profiteering and hatred has its exact counterpart in the iron-fist violence of the oppressed. . . . Once you choose the way of violence, it is impossible to say so far and no further. Jesus saw this reality also when He declared that there is no difference between murdering a fellow man and being angry with him (Matthew 5:21-22)." Jesus was not preaching, He was simply describing the nature of violence.

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REVIEWERS

ANNE FREMANTLE, author, anthologist and critic, edited *The Age of Belief*.

THOMAS M. CONRAD is completing a book on the strategic aspects of central war.

JOSEPH A. PAGE teaches law at Georgetown University in Washington.

The Politics of Protest

JEROME H. SKOLNICK

Ballantine, $1.25

Political Violence

H. L. NIEBURG

St. Martin's, $5.95

THOMAS M. CONRAD

Both of these books are products of the National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence, with the Skolnick book being an official report as well. Neither book offers much in the way of exciting new insights for those who have been studying the disintegration of the American society and polity in recent years with serious attention to detail and minimal neurotic self-crippling; but very few observers have been that sharp, sharp enough to see the obvious, so one of the matters which should be reviewed concerns these two discussions as *symptoms* of social change.

The fate of the earlier Riot Commission's findings seems likely to be repeated with even greater vehemence in the case of the Violence Commission. The white upper middle class, with Mr. Johnson himself taking the lead, rejected out of hand the main conclusion of the earlier Commission, that institutionalized white racism was the efficient and direct cause of black rioting. We can expect a similar rejection of the conclusion that political-social violence in general is the product of continued severe victimization of groups rather than the result of individual emotional pathologies or professional "agitators."

As both books amply indicate, the most powerful "outside agitation" encouraging escalations of violence is the agitation provided by an entrenched and terribly frightened Establishment as it tries with means of steadily esca-

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lating violence to decapitate or totally destroy dissident groups. The parting of the ways between the liberal authors of these books and radicals like myself comes, not with the obvious empirical fact of coercion and counter-coercion, but rather with the reasons for the behavior of the Establishment and the prospectives on the future possibility of a modification of that behavior.

Both Skolnick and Nieburg take a severe admonitory tone with the Liberal Establishment, warning it that its recent spasmodic methods of coping with protest are counter-productive and self-defeating. But even the most severe admonition and exhortation requires and implies some remaining faith in the ultimate pliability and deter-ability of those warned; this faith is misplaced, and it must be said, at this very late stage of the situation, that such faith in the reasonableness and ultimate self-preservative instincts of the Liberal Establishment goes beyond an individual wistful folly to become a symptom of failure in *factual* understanding. An adequate factual understanding of what has been happening in the United States in the past decade includes an understanding of the inflexible, self-destructive conflict behavior of the Liberal Establishment, an understanding which is very much at odds with the idea that the Establishment has merely been absent-minded and needs a severe jolt to put it back on its benevolent, wise course.

By a kind of Parity Principle, the idea of liberal viewers-with-alarm that the Establishment has inherently decent purposes and instincts, which merely need reawakening, is balanced by the conception of many younger members of the New Left that the Establishment has inherently vicious purposes and instincts and is fully awake; that the Establishment is a diabolical, fully rational and conscious force for evil. Both views are factually false; and both views are more the product of individual and group fears than they are of careful observation and analysis.

When the Establishment, after creating a necessity for violence by victim groups, responds by further escalated repressive attempts, it displays a gross pattern of behavior which makes it easy for all concerned to confuse it with traditional dictators and ruling classes: a vital distinction is lost, between the rational but vicious dictatorship which is fully aware of its victimization of individuals and groups in its conscious self-interest, and which can be deterred from such victimization by the threat and use of force, and an irrational Establishment which rules by neurotic indirection, terribly afraid of perceiving itself as illiberal and anti-benevolent, therefore willfully blind to its victimization efforts, and therefore enormously resistant to deterrence by the threat and use of force.

The elites of past societies have used protestations of their benevolence and claims of disinterested paternal statesmanship in the common interest as social control techniques, because revolt of victim groups could frequently be held off if their perceptions of the causes of their miserable state could be deflected from the elites onto the victims themselves, onto some inherent flaw in the victims themselves leading to the familiar pattern of self-hate, depersonalization, and other patterns of political and social masochism. But this was only a technique; others were available, and the traditional elites had little or no emotional need to believe their own propaganda about their benevolence.

It is very much otherwise in the

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United States. The elites require a self-image of liberality and benevolence as part of a delicate neurotic process of individual internal balance and group self-celebration and legitimization. Thus, simple preliminary attacks by dissidents upon the credibility of this benevolent self-image and the resulting hypocrisy are viewed by the Establishment as severe, substantive acts of aggression—which, given the emotional problems of the Establishment, they are.

One serious defect of both books, if they are to be viewed as analytic discussions rather than simple admonitions, is that both authors, in different ways, overestimate the rationality of violence as a coercive tool or weapon. This is a natural reaction to the traditional liberal dogma that violence is always the counter-productive, irrational product of individual or group criminality or emotional pathology, rather than a normal if unpleasant part of a complete continuum of sanctions and counter-sanctions regulating political and social outcomes. But it seems much more important at this point to press forward with more sophisticated and precise understanding, rather than trying yet again to arouse the interest of the hysterically blind and willfully ignorant with repetitions of elementary observations.

Violence *can* be a tool under rational control; that is, the application of violence can be calculated to produce a predicted result in changing behavior. Violence had better be a tool under rational control, because humans have not, at least yet, found any substitute for it in some kinds of conflict situations, but the danger of mutually-disfunctional escalation is greatly increased by irrationality.

The Liberal Establishment, largely but not completely because it can expect to lose differentially from an escalation of violence which shakes its status quo, objects to the idea of violence-as-a-tool as an obscenity. Much of the New Left, on the other hand, objects to the idea of violence-as-a-tool because it seems cold-blooded after the fashion of violence perpetrated by the Liberal Establishment (as seen by the New Left) in, e.g., Vietnam: for much of the younger New Left, violence must be justified by spontaneity rather than calculation, it must be a (forgivable) crime of passion.

The Church and Colonialism: The Betrayal of the Third World

DOM HELDER CAMARA

Dimension Books, $5.95

JOSEPH A. PAGE

Dom Helder Camara, Archbishop of Olinda and Recife, a tiny man with a boyish grin and expressively delicate hands, was once the only public figure in Northeast Brazil who could openly protest the social and economic injustices which permeate the region. In the years following their coup of April 1964, the Brazilian military had stifled every other trace of dissent in the Northeast. But somehow Dom Helder managed to avoid the muzzle, and he ceaselessly pointed out that economic growth without human development could not be called progress.

He criticized the policies of Brazilian planners and their American advisors, who were trying to industrialize the region with little regard for the plight of the impoverished masses. The economists looked at statistics; Dom Helder saw people. Industrialists built new factories, created some new jobs and got richer. But wages lagged woefully behind price levels, and the net gain in employment barely, if at all, kept pace with population growth. The planners focused on increasing private profit, some of which, it was piously hoped, would trickle down to the poor. Dom Helder wanted to aim developmental policies at the poor people themselves.

For this he was labeled a "Communist." His residence, palace and Archdiocesan offices have been shot at and painted with slogans such as "Death to Dom Helder, the Red Archbishop." Last May one of his priests was murdered. As Brazil's neo-fascists became increasingly militant, many Northeasterners worried that Dom Helder might soon become a target for assassination —a possibility to which the prelate himself adverted shortly after the death of Martin Luther King.

Ever since December 1968 when the army tore away the mask and revealed Brazil in the grip of an overt dictatorship, Dom Helder has been effectively silenced. Press censorship keeps his statements and even reference to his name out of the newspapers, except for an occasional mention in the religion pages. The police attend Sunday Masses in Recife to check for subversive sermons. All Archdiocesan efforts at social development have been suspended because of direct or indirect pressure from the authorities. Progressive Catholics in the Northeast and in the rest of Brazil now merit inclusion in the so-called "Church of Silence."

Why does Brazil's ruling elite consider Dom Helder a "dangerous man"? Why did sociologist Gilberto Freyre once refer to him as a "Brazilian Dr.

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Goebbels" and a "Brazilian Kerensky" in the course of a single apoplectic article? *The Church and Colonialism*, a sampling of his speeches and writings taken from the pre-1968 period, provides some of the answers.

Dom Helder demonstrates a grasp of the interrelationship of forces which keep the Third World in its present state of underdevelopment. He is aware of the stark fact that even today, with all the lip-service paid to the problem, wealth continues to flow from the poor to the rich nations of the world. To talk of progress without redressing this exploitative situation is the sheerest hypocrisy.

In addition, Dom Helder stresses nonviolence and invokes the tradition of Gandhi and King. He rejects violent revolution, but at the same time warns that if legitimate aspirations are ignored and non-violent pressures resisted, there is no alternative to the inevitability of revolution or repression.

Finally, he refuses to issue blanket condemnations of socialism. Indeed, he even declares that "Socialism is not necessarily a system which destroys the human person or the community. It can mean 'a system at the service of the community and of man.' "

Those Brazilians who cling to the past, as well as the few who are earning fat profits under the present dictatorship, realize full well the dangers posed by such notions. They see their choice clearly: either allow a broad-based, nonviolent, popular reform movement to develop or radicalize the opposition by such oppressive measures that revolutionary activity is sure to begin. They have opted for the latter.

From 1964 to 1968, Dom Helder tried to get things moving in Northeast Brazil. The first of his big projects, a community development effort called "Operation Hope," failed because of administrative problems. His second try was "Action, Justice and Peace," the formation of teams of private citizens who would seek ways to apply "moral pressure" against industrialists and landowners in the interests of social and economic justice. The program aborted in the December 1968 crackdown.

"If the only way is violence," Dom Helder said in an interview last June, "then it is not my fault. But I don't have a vocation for clandestinity." And so he now sits by as left-wing Catholics join the growing underground in Brazil. Some have been killed. Others have been captured and even tortured. Dom Helder's book suggests what could have been. It also suggests that if things keep worsening, his passion for justice may force him to find some way to translate anguish into action.

IN BRIEF

The Spirit and Power of Christian Secularity. Edited by Albert L. Schlitzer, C.S.C. University of Notre Dame Press. $10.

In the fall of 1967, 25 scholars gathered at Notre Dame for a symposium on secularity, and this volume represents both the papers delivered and the discussion that followed. Participants included Martin Marty, Bernard Cook, Louis Dupré, Edward Schillebeeckx, and others. The result is a useful companion for any examination of secular theology, about which most of the participants were skeptical.

The Silence of God. By Arthur Gibson. Harper & Row. $5.95.

Many readers of *Commonweal Papers No. 4* will remember the imaginative "New Heaven and New Earth" by Father Arthur Gibson, Professor of Theology at the Graduate School of St. Michael's College, University of Toronto. Here he presents "Creative Responses" to the God-filled films of the great Ingmar Bergman, with conclusions bound to interest both theologians and students of the film.

CORRESPONDENCE

(Continued from page 443)

ence to Pascal, whose experience in the context of objective scripture and in an existing church 'structure' could bring him to faith in the historical God, "not God of the philosophers but God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob"?

Really, the points that we need to pay more attention to experience and to the illustrations by hippies of alienation, are well taken. But we must also remember that one of the valid questions of the church still relates itself to the ontological base and metaphysical presuppositions which attach to that experience.

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An Appeal

To the Editors: I am writing a book on Vietnam veterans and would appreciate hearing from and interviewing anyone who served there since 1965.

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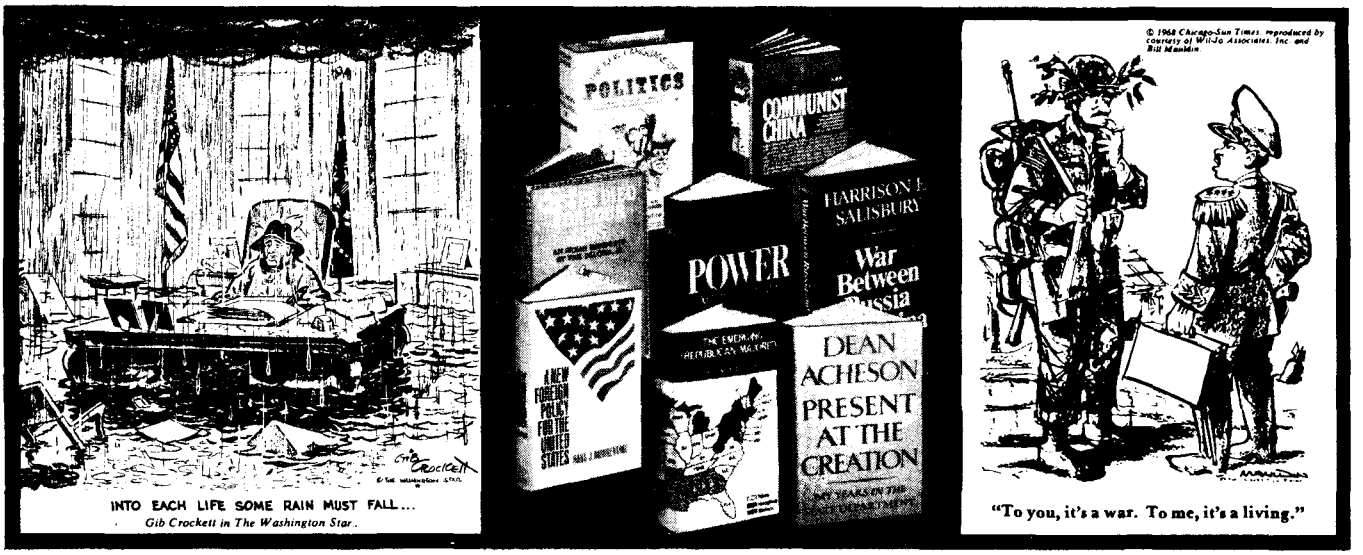

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